

HART-BREGLIO  
1724 Connecticut Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20009  
(202) 234-5570

Interviews: 1506 Respondents  
Dates: September 12-15, 1992

47	Male
53	Female
<b>[5]</b>	

## FINAL 9/16/92

Study #4031  
NBC News/WSJ  
September 1992

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[6] [7] ]	[8]	[9] [10] [11] ]	[12]		[13] [14] ]	2

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Hello, my name is \_\_\_\_\_ and I'm calling from Hart-Breglio for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Of the people living in your household who are at least 18 years old, including those who are not home right now, can you tell me who had the most recent birthday? (IF PERSON DOESN'T KNOW ALL THE BIRTHDAYS, SAY:) Well, of the ones you do know, who had the last birthday? May I speak to that person please? (IF PERSON WITH MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY IS NOT HOME, FIND OUT WHEN HE/SHE WILL RETURN AND MAKE AN APPOINTMENT TO CALL BACK.)

(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS THE ONE WITH THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, SAY:) Here is my first question. (PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)

(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS NOT THE ONE TO HAVE THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, ASK TO SPEAK TO THE PERSON WHO DID. AFTER RESPONDENT COMES TO THE PHONE, SAY:)

Hello, my name is \_\_\_\_\_ and I'm calling from Hart-Breglio for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Are you at least 18 years old and the person with the most recent birthday of all the adults living in this household? (IF "YES," SAY:) Here is my first question. (PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)

1a. Are you currently registered to vote in the precinct or election district where you now live, or haven't you had a chance to register yet?

Registered .....	10	CONTINUE	[15]
0			
Not registered.....	-	<b>TERMINATE AND DO NOT COUNT TOWARD QUOTA</b>	
Not sure.....	-		

1b. What are the chances you will vote in the November elections for president and U.S. Congress--are you almost certain to vote, will you probably vote, are the chances 50-50, or do you think you probably won't vote?

Almost certain to vote .....	8	[16]
	7	

Probably will vote.....	8
50-50 chance of voting.....	3
Probably won't vote.....	1
Not sure.....	1

2. All in all, do you think things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction, or do you feel that things are off on the wrong track?

		NBC												
	9/92	8/92	7/92	5/9	4/92	2/92	1/92	12/9	11/9	10/9	9/91	8/91	7/91	6/9
Right direction.....	18	16	14	14	17	19	18	20	19	25	33	41	33	40 [17] 1
Wrong track....	67	70	71	72	70	67	67	68	64	57	49	38	50	44
Mixed (VOL)....	10	8	9	9	9	11	11	9	13	13	14	15	12	13
Not sure.....	5	6	6	5	4	3	4	3	4	5	4	6	5	3

	5/91	3/91	2/9	12/9	10/9	9/90	7/90	5/90	4/90	3/90	1/90	11/89	9/8
	1	0	0										9
	40	55	65	28	22	45	40	42	47	44	49	41	42
	38	26	22	51	59	40	37	38	32	31	29	35	34
	17	15	9	15	14	10	18	16	13	20	17	19	19
	5	4	4	6	5	5	5	4	8	5	5	5	5

3. Would you say that you and your family are better off or worse off than you were four years ago?

	9/9	7/9	5/92	4/92	2/92	1/92	12/91	10/91
	2	2						
Better off.....	37	34	38	35	36	39	42	40 [18]
Worse off.....	40	42	39	43	41	40	39	37
About the same (VOL).	21	22	22	20	22	20	17	22
Not sure.....	2	2	1	2	1	1	2	1

4. I'm going to read you the names of several groups and people who are active in public affairs. I'd like you to rate your feelings toward each one as either very positive, somewhat positive, neutral, somewhat negative, or very negative. If you don't know the name, please just say so. **(READ EACH ITEM AND REPEAT CHOICES. START FROM THE BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	Very Positive	Somewhat Positive	Neutral	Somewhat Negative	Very Negative	Don't Know Name/ Not Sure
<b>George Bush</b>						
September 1992.....	15	25	15	19	25	1 [19]
August 1992.....	11	25	13	21	29	1
July 1992.....	9	26	18	23	23	1
May 1992.....	12	28	17	21	21	1
April 1992.....	15	29	17	19	19	1
February 1992.....	15	30	16	18	20	1
January 1992.....	16	33	17	18	15	1
December 1991.....	19	35	13	19	13	1
October 1991.....	27	35	15	12	10	1
July 1991.....	38	33	10	11	7	-
May 1991.....	42	35	10	8	4	1
March 1991.....	50	30	9	6	4	1
October 1990.....	20	36	17	15	11	1
July 1990.....	26	42	16	10	5	1
May 1990.....	28	40	15	11	5	1
March 1990.....	32	37	15	10	5	1
December 1989.....	28	33	21	11	5	2
November 1989.....	24	38	17	11	8	2

Q.3. (cont'd)	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewhat Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Somewhat Negative</u>	<u>Very Negative</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/ Not Sure</u>	
<b>Bill Clinton</b>							
September 1992.....	16	31	18	16	17	2	[20]
August 1992.....	18	28	22	13	15	4	
July 1992.....	8	22	27	22	16	5	
May 1992.....	9	24	23	24	15	5	
April 1992.....	8	24	20	25	18	5	
February 1992.....	7	22	22	19	13	17	
January 1992.....	5	17	17	5	3	53	
December 1991.....	3	12	13	4	2	66	
October 1991.....	3	7	14	5	2	69	
<b>The Democratic Party</b>							
September 1992.....	17	28	22	18	13	2	[21]
August 1992.....	15	31	24	15	12	3	
October 1990.....	12	27	30	19	8	4	
<b>Ross Perot</b>							
September 1992.....	8	16	24	16	27	9	[22]
August 1992.....	10	15	22	20	24	9	
July 1992.....	14	23	23	15	16	9	
May 1992.....	13	20	26	7	7	27	
April 1992.....	13	18	21	7	6	35	
<b>Al Gore</b>							
September 1992.....	19	28	23	10	10	10	[23]
August 1992.....	21	28	20	9	8	14	
March 1991.....	4	17	26	9	2	42	
<b>The Republican Party</b>							
September 1992.....	12	23	21	21	21	2	[24]
August 1992.....	12	22	18	20	25	3	
October 1990.....	11	27	24	20	14	4	
<b>Hillary Clinton</b>							
September 1992.....	14	22	30	12	13	9	[25]
August 1992.....	12	22	28	12	13	13	
July 1992.....	7	15	30	16	14	18	
April 1992.....	8	16	24	17	12	23	
February 1992.....	7	15	19	9	9	41	
<b>Barbara Bush</b>							
September 1992.....	32	33	21	7	4	3	[26]
August 1992.....	31	32	20	8	7	2	
February/March 1992.....	40	30	16	6	6	2	
<b>Dan Quayle</b>							
September 1992.....	10	21	20	19	28	2	[27]
August 1992.....	10	16	19	20	32	3	
July 1992.....	7	19	22	21	29	2	
May 1992.....	5	19	28	20	24	4	
April 1992.....	6	20	28	22	21	3	
February 1992.....	7	22	26	20	22	3	
January 1992.....	6	25	27	20	18	4	
December 1991.....	7	25	28	20	18	2	
October 1991.....	10	25	28	15	18	4	
July 1991.....	9	24	30	18	15	3	
May 1991.....	9	25	27	17	18	4	
March 1991.....	7	26	29	15	18	5	
October 1990.....	5	22	28	19	19	7	
July 1990.....	6	22	33	16	14	9	

May 1990.....	7	22	29	18	19	5
March 1990.....	7	21	28	17	19	8
November 1989.....	7	22	26	17	21	7

5a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job George Bush is doing as president?

	NBC													[28]
	8/9	7/9	5/9	4/9	2/92	1/92	12/9	11/9	10/9	9/91	8/91	7/91	6/91	5/91
Approve.....	40	34	38	41	43	45	53	52	51	63	64	70	67	76
Disapprove....	53	60	56	52	52	48	40	41	39	30	27	21	25	21
Not sure.....	7	6	6	7	5	7	7	10	7	9	9	8	3	7
	<u>3/9</u>	<u>2/9</u>	<u>1/9</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>10/3</u>	<u>10/1</u>	<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>4/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>11/89</u>	
	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	0-	9-	<u>31/9</u>	<u>21/9</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>				
	81	85	77	57	56	59	75	67	72	75	69	71	67	
	13	11	15	36	32	32	15	22	21	15	19	19	22	
	6	4	8	7	12	9	10	11	7	10	12	10	11	

5b. Do you generally approve or disapprove of the job George Bush is doing in handling the economy?

	9/92	7/92	5/9	4/92	2/92	1/92	12/91	10/91	9/91	7/91	6/91	5/91	[29]
Approve....	23	19	21	23	23	23	23	31	41	38	47	44	
Disapprov e.....	71	76	73	72	72	70	71	61	51	52	48	44	
Not sure.	6	5	6	5	5	7	6	8	8	10	5	12	
	<u>3/9</u>	<u>12/90</u>	<u>10/9</u>	<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>4/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>11/89</u>	<u>9/89</u>		
	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>											
	44	37	35	52	48	51	59	53	54	52	61		
	45	54	55	36	41	40	30	35	31	33	24		
	11	9	10	12	11	9	11	12	15	15	15		

5c. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job George Bush is doing in handling our foreign policy?

	9/92	8/92	7/92	5/92	4/92	2/92	1/92	12/91	10/91	9/91	7/91	6/91	5/91	[30]
Approve....	60	53	51	55	59	60	63	68	70	71	74	74	76	
Disapprov e.....	33	39	41	37	37	34	30	26	23	23	21	21	18	
Not sure.	7	8	8	8	4	6	7	6	7	6	5	5	6	
	<u>3/91</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>10/90</u>	<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>4/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>11/89</u>	<u>9/89</u>			
	<u>0</u>													
	83	56	63	75	67	67	70	67	69	59	58			
	11	37	30	17	22	25	22	22	21	27	26			
	6	7	7	8	11	8	8	11	10	14	16			

6a. Looking ahead to this year's election for U.S. Congress, do you feel your representative deserves to be reelected, or do you think it is time to give a new person a chance?

	9/92	7/92	5/92	4/92	2/92	1/92	12/9	10/91	10/90	11/89	[31]
Reelect representative.....	31	27	33	33	37	42	35	40	39	41	
Give new person a chance.....	56	62	57	57	52	48	52	48	48	36	
Not sure.....	13	11	10	10	11	10	13	12	13	23	

6b. In this year's election for U.S. Congress, do you plan to vote for the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate in your district?

	<u>9/92</u>	<u>8/92</u>	<u>7/92</u>	<u>5/92</u>	<u>4/9</u>	<u>2/9</u>	<u>1/9</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>10/9</u>	<u>7/9</u>		
Vote for the Republican candidate.....	32	29	31	31	32	30	29	27	31	29	[32] 1	
Vote for the Democratic candidate.....	43	43	35	37	36	38	38	33	34	33		
Depends (VOL).....	7	7	11	13	14	14	18	26	20	24		
Neither (VOL).....	1	2	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	1		
Not sure.....	17	19	20	16	16	17	14	13	14	13		
					<u>10/9</u>	<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/9</u>	<u>5/9</u>	<u>3/9</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>11/8</u>	<u>9/8</u>
					0	0	0	0	0	9	9	
					31	32	33	34	25	26	27	29
					40	37	36	33	34	31	32	32
					12	14	17	22	29	33	28	24
					3	1	2	1	2	2	1	1

6c. In general, do you think it is better for the same political party to control both the Congress and the presidency, so they can work together more closely, or do you think it is better to have different political parties controlling the Congress and the presidency to prevent either one from going too far?

	<u>9/92</u>	<u>8/92</u>	<u>7/92</u>	<u>4/92</u>	<u>1/9</u>	<u>10/9</u>	<u>10/9</u>	<u>1/9</u>	<u>9/8</u>	<b>[33]</b>
Better if controlled by <u>same</u> political party.....	40	43	40	32	28	24	23	24	28	
Better if controlled by <u>different</u> political parties.....	46	44	47	61	62	67	67	63	64	
Not sure.....	14	13	13	7	10	9	10	13	8	

6d. If more women were elected to office, do you think issues and concerns of yours would be dealt with better, worse, or about the same?

	<u>9/92</u>	<u>7/92</u>	
Better.....	38	41	[34]
Worse.....	6	7	
About the same.....	51	47	
Depends upon party (VOL).....	2	1	
Not sure.....	3	4	

7a. If the 1992 presidential election were held today and the candidates were George Bush, the Republican, and Bill Clinton, the Democrat, for whom would you vote--George Bush or Bill Clinton?

**(IF "NOT SURE," ASK:)** Well, which way do you lean?

	9/92	NBC 9/5/92	8/9 2	5/92 48	4/92 48	2/92 48	1/92 48	10/9 55	[35]
George Bush.....	39		38	33	45	48	48	48	
Lean Bush.....	2		2	3	2	2	3	4	3
Bill Clinton.....	48	CONTINUE	45	51	41	39	36	32	20
Lean Clinton.....	3		4	3	2	3	3	3	2
Ross Perot (VOL ONLY--DO NOT READ) .....	-		1	-	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
None (VOL).....	2	SKIP to Q.7d	3	4	7	5	4	3	2
Not sure.....	6		7	6	3	3	6	10	18

**(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO MAKE A CHOICE IN Q.7a)**

7b. When it comes to your support of **(CANDIDATE NAMED IN Q.7a)**, would you say you totally support him, strongly support him, support him with some reservations, or support him only slightly?

	Septembe		NBC		August		July		[36] ]
	Clinton Voters	Bush Voters	Clinton Voters	Bush Voters	Clinton Voters	Bush Voters	Clinton Voters	Bush Voters	
Support totally.....	15	19	13	21	17	17	11	11	
Support strongly.....	30	30	34	36	34	29	20	25	
Support with some reservations.....	47	45	43	38	39	43	52	57	
Support only slightly.....	7	6	9	5	9	11	14	6	
Not sure.....	1	-	1	-	1	-	3	1	

**(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO MAKE A CHOICE IN Q.7a)**

7c. What are the chances that you might change your mind in the election for president between now and Election Day--is there a good chance that you might change your mind, just some chance, or no chance that you might change your mind?

	Clinton n Voters	Bush Voter s	[37] ]
Good chance.....	4	5	
Just some chance.....	28	29	
No chance.....	67	65	
Not sure.....	1	1	

**(ASK EVERYONE)**

7d. If there were a three-way presidential election, would you vote for George Bush, the Republican, Bill Clinton, the Democrat, or Ross Perot, the Independent?

	9/92	NBC 9/5/92	8/92	7/92	5/92	4/92	
George Bush.....	33	31	26	31	35	38	
Bill Clinton.....	39	38	40	28	27	30	
Ross Perot .....	18	20	24	33	30	26	
None (VOL).....	1	2	2	2	3	2	
Not sure.....	9	9	8	6	5	4	

7e. If the 1992 presidential election were held today and the Republican candidates were George Bush for president and Dan Quayle for vice president, and the Democratic candidates were Bill Clinton for president and Al Gore for vice president, for whom would you vote--George Bush and Dan Quayle, or Bill Clinton and Al Gore?

	9/92	8/92	[39]
Bush and Quayle.....	40	32	
Clinton and Gore.....	52	59	
Neither/not sure.....	8	9	

8a. How confident are you that Bill Clinton has the right set of personal characteristics to be president of the United States--extremely confident, quite confident, only somewhat confident, or not at all confident?

Extremely confident.....	9	Only somewhat confident..	37	<b>[40]</b>
Quite confident.....	2	Not at all confident.....	28	
	3	Not sure.....	3	

8b. How confident are you that George Bush has the right set of personal characteristics to be president of the United States--extremely confident, quite confident, only somewhat confident, or not at all confident?

Extremely confident.....	1	Only somewhat confident..	33	<b>[41]</b>
	5			
Quite confident.....	2	Not at all confident.....	25	
	5	Not sure.....	2	

9a. How confident are you that Bill Clinton has the right set of goals and policies to be president of the United States--extremely confident, quite confident, only somewhat confident, or not at all confident?

Extremely confident.....	1	Only somewhat confident..	41	<b>[42]</b>
	0			
Quite confident.....	2	Not at all confident.....	24	
	3	Not sure.....	2	

9b. How confident are you that George Bush has the right set of goals and policies to be president of the United States--extremely confident, quite confident, only somewhat confident, or not at all confident?

Extremely confident.....	1	Only somewhat confident..	35	<b>[43]</b>
	1			
Quite confident.....	2	Not at all confident.....	33	
	0	Not sure.....	1	

10. Regardless of how you may vote, how would you rate the acceptability of the election of (**READ NAME**) as president? Please use a scale from one to ten, on which a rating of "1" means that (**READ NAME**) would be completely unacceptable and a rating of "10" means he would be highly acceptable to you as president. (**START FROM BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.**)

C	HI										<b>Don't Know Name/ Not Sure</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>10</b>		

**George Bush** **[44]**

September 1992.....	15	5	8	9	15	9	11	13	4	11	-
July 1992.....	19	6	8	8	17	9	10	13	3	6	1

**Bill Clinton** **[45]**

September 1992.....	12	5	8	8	15	8	13	15	6	9	1
July 1992.....	15	6	10	12	19	11	9	8	3	4	3

12a. During the next year, do you think the national economy will get better, get worse, or stay about the same?

	<u>9/9</u>	<u>7/9</u>	<u>5/9</u>	<u>4/92</u>	<u>2/92</u>	<u>1/92</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>10/91</u>	<u>9/91</u>	<u>7/91</u>	<u>6/91</u>	<u>5/91</u>	<u>3/91</u>
Better.....	35	28	33	39	39	33	26	26	32	34	37	37	46
Worse.....	16	23	18	19	23	29	31	32	24	24	23	22	20
Stay about the same.....	42	46	45	39	35	34	38	37	39	37	37	38	27
Not sure.....	7	3	4	3	3	4	5	5	5	5	3	3	7
	<u>1/9</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>10/90</u>	<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>4/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>11/8</u>	<u>9/89</u>		
	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>								<u>9</u>			
	25	21	13	16	20	22	24	21	22	21	25		
	40	45	52	49	33	32	29	30	28	33	23		
	28	30	30	26	40	41	42	44	44	39	43		
	7	4	5	9	7	5	5	5	6	7	9		

12b. Do you think the U.S. is or is not currently in an economic recession?

	<u>9/92</u>	<u>1/92</u>	<u>12/91</u>	<u>9/91</u>	<u>12/90</u>	
Yes, is in a recession.....	86	90	88	75	65	<b>[47]</b>
No, is not in a recession.....	11	7	9	18	27	
Not sure.....	3	3	3	7	8	

12c. I'd like to ask about any personal investments you may have, and how they have done in the past year. Compared to one year ago, have your personal investments gone up more than 10%, up less than 10%, have they been flat for the year, have they gone down less than 10%, or have they gone down more than 10%? If you do not have any personal investments, please say so.

Up more than 10%.....	8	<b>[48]</b>
Up less than 10%.....	12	
Flat for the year.....	19	
Down less than 10%.....	15	
Down more than 10%.....	11	
Do not have personal investments.....	30	
Not sure/refused.....	5	

13a. I'd like to read you a list of economic issues. As of right now, which one do you feel is the most important issue facing the country? (**READ LIST SLOWLY. START FROM BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW. ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER.**)

	<u>9/92</u>	<u>7/92</u>	<u>5/9</u>	<u>4/92</u>	<u>2/92</u>	<u>1/92</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>10/9</u>	<u>9/91</u>	<u>7/91</u>	<u>6/91</u>	
Inflation.....	6	6	7	7	5	8	8	10	10	9	9	<b>[49]</b>
Unemployment.....	49	50	43	47	52	53	48	39	37	35	30	
Interest rates.....	3	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	4	
The federal budget deficit.	25	25	24	22	20	16	19	24	23	27	34	
Federal taxes.....	5	4	6	4	4	4	4	7	6	7	7	
The U.S. trade deficit.....	6	7	8	9	9	7	8	8	8	10	11	
All equally important (VOL).....	5	6	8	7	7	8	9	8	10	6	3	
None is important (VOL)..	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	
Not sure.....	1	-	2	1	-	1	1	1	3	2	2	

	<u>5/91</u>	<u>3/9</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>10/90</u>	<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>9/89</u>
	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>								
	9	10	11	13	13	8	9	13	12	12
	32	31	26	16	22	21	22	20	23	23
	2	3	3	2	3	4	5	5	4	4
	29	32	35	43	34	37	35	30	29	32
	6	6	7	10	5	9	9	7	7	8
	11	10	11	9	14	14	14	17	18	15

10	6	6	6	6	6	4	6	5	4
-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-
1	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	2

13b. Who do you blame most for the country's economic problems? (**READ LIST. ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE. ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.**)

	<u>9/92</u>	<u>7/92</u>	<u>5/92</u>	<u>4/92</u>	<u>2/92</u>	<u>1/92</u>	<u>12/91</u>		
							<u>1</u>		
President Bush.....	28	27	25	29	23	19	20	[50]	
The Federal Reserve.....	3	3	6	4	4	4	4		
Democrats in Congress.....	26	28	23	13	15	12	22		
Banks.....	5	6	6	5	6	11	9		
The normal business cycle.	18	20	22	29	27	30	21		
All equally (VOL).....	9	8	8	10	13	13	12		
None of these (VOL).....	5	5	6	4	7	6	7		
Not sure.....	6	3	4	6	5	5	5		

14a. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "The economic and political systems in this country are stacked against people like me"?

	<u>9/92</u>	<u>7/92</u>	<u>5/92</u>	<u>4/92</u>	<u>2/9</u>	<u>1/9</u>	<u>12/91</u>	<u>10/9</u>	<u>10/9</u>	<u>10/23-26/88*</u>	<u>10/14-16/88*</u>	<u>9/88*</u>	<u>8/8</u>
					<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>		<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>				
Agree.....	50	56	45	59	47	43	44	48	42	43	50	43	51
Disagree.....	45	37	49	37	47	51	49	46	54	48	42	46	39
Not sure.....	5	7	6	4	6	6	7	6	4	9	8	11	10

\* The question read, "Do you think the political and economic systems in this country are stacked against people like you, or don't you think so?"

#### (FORM B)

14b. Regardless of how you will vote, who do you think will win the 1992 presidential election--George Bush or Bill Clinton?

George Bush.....	42	[52]
Bill Clinton.....	45	
Not sure.....	13	

#### (BOTH FORMS)

15. Let me read you a number of areas that the president of the United States deals with as part of his job. Which one of the following do you think should be the president's most important priority? (**READ CHOICES. ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE. ROTATE ORDER OF ITEMS.**)

	<u>9/92</u>	<u>10/25-29/91</u>	<u>7/91</u>	
Dealing with the U.S. economy.....	47	35	37	[53]
Dealing with national security and U.S. foreign policy .....	8	12	13	
Dealing with domestic issues such as education, health care, and the environment.....	38	41	43	
Other (VOL).....	-	1	-	
All of these equally (VOL).....	6	10	6	
None of these (VOL).....	-	-	-	
Not sure.....	1	1	1	

16a. If George Bush is reelected president, do you believe that your own personal taxes will go up or not? (**IF "YES," ASK:**) Do you think they will go up a lot or just a little?

Taxes will go up a lot.....	22	[54]
Taxes will go up a little.....	39	
Taxes will not go up.....	32	
Not sure.....	7	



16b. And if Bill Clinton is elected president, do you believe that your own personal taxes will go up or not? (**IF "YES," ASK:**) Do you think they will go up a lot or just a little?

Taxes will go up a lot.....	34	<b>[55]</b>
Taxes will go up a little.....	41	
Taxes will not go up.....	18	
Not sure.....	7	

17a. If Bill Clinton is elected president, do you believe that the economy will improve or not? (**IF "YES," ASK:**) Do you think the economy will improve a lot or just a little?

Economy will improve a lot.....	13	<b>[56]</b>
Economy will improve a little.....	40	
Economy will not improve.....	38	
Not sure.....	9	

17b. And if George Bush is reelected president, do you believe that the economy will improve or not? (**IF "YES," ASK:**) Do you think the economy will improve a lot or just a little?

Economy will improve a lot.....	7	<b>[57]</b>
Economy will improve a little.....	32	
Economy will not improve.....	55	
Not sure.....	6	

18a. There is a lot of talk these days about "gridlock" in Washington, with the president and Congress spending more time arguing than getting things done. How would you divide the blame for this gridlock--is it all Congress' fault, mostly Congress' fault, does the blame lie equally with George Bush and Congress, is it mostly George Bush's fault, or all George Bush's fault?

All Congress' fault.....	5	<b>[58]</b>
Mostly Congress' fault .....	25	
The blame lies equally with Bush and Congress.....	56	
Mostly Bush's fault .....	9	
All George Bush's fault.....	2	
Not sure.....	3	

18b. If Bill Clinton is elected president, do you think he would be better than George Bush in dealing with Congress, worse than George Bush, or about the same?

Better than George Bush.....	53	<b>[59]</b>
Worse than George Bush.....	8	
About the same.....	34	
Not sure.....	5	

18c. If George Bush is reelected president in November, do you expect his performance in his second term to be better than in his first term, worse than in his first term, or about the same?

Better than first term.....	36	<b>[60]</b>
Worse than first term.....	13	
About the same.....	50	
Not sure.....	1	

19a. Which do you think is the greater risk--that Bill Clinton, if elected president, will do too much and end up hurting the country, or that George Bush, if reelected, will do too little and end up hurting the country?

Bill Clinton will do too much.....	35	<b>[61]</b>
George Bush will do too little.....	46	
Neither/both equally (VOL).....	5	
Not sure.....	14	

**(FORM A)**

19b. Who would you feel more comfortable with in the Oval Office--**(ROTATE NAMES)** George Bush or Bill Clinton?

George Bush.....	4	Both (VOL).....	1	<b>[62]</b>
	3			
Bill Clinton.....	4	Neither (VOL).....	4	
	8			
		Not sure.....	4	

**(FORM B)**

19c. Who do you trust to make the right decisions as president--**(ROTATE NAMES)** George Bush or Bill Clinton?

George Bush.....	4	Both (VOL).....	2	<b>[63]</b>
	3			
Bill Clinton.....	4	Neither (VOL).....	8	
	2			
		Not sure.....	5	

20. Now let me read you a list of some specific issues. When it comes to **(READ ITEM)**, who do you think would do the best job as president--Bill Clinton, George Bush, neither of them, or would both of them be about the same? **(REPEAT FOR EACH ITEM LISTED BELOW. START FROM BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	<u>Bill Clinton</u>	<u>George Bush</u>	<u>Neither Of Them</u>	<u>Both Of Them</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
<b>Dealing with the economy</b>						<b>[64]</b>
September 1992.....	41	26	8	23	2	
September 5, 1992--NBC.....	39	26	13	16	6	
August 1992.....	41	19	16	19	5	
April 1992.....	25	29	22	21	3	
<b>Protecting family values</b>						<b>[65]</b>
September 1992.....	27	34	11	23	5	
August 1992*.....	29	37	8	19	7	
*The question read,"Upholding traditional						
<b>Handling a foreign crisis</b>						<b>[66]</b>
September 1992.....	15	63	4	14	4	
<b>Being someone you can trust</b>						<b>[67]</b>
September 1992.....	32	35	16	14	3	
September 5, 1992--NBC.....	29	38	17	12	4	
August 1992.....	32	29	23	11	5	
<b>Dealing with taxes</b>						<b>[68]</b>
September 1992.....	37	31	13	14	5	
April 1992.....	30	28	24	10	8	
<b>(FORM A) Handling a domestic crisis</b>						<b>[69]</b>
September 1992.....	40	33	6	16	5	
<b>(FORM A) Creating new jobs</b>						<b>[70]</b>
September 1992.....	54	19	9	13	5	
<b>(FORM A) Getting people off welfare</b>						<b>[71]</b>
September 1992.....	46	24	16	10	4	
<b>(FORM A) Dealing with foreign policy</b>						<b>[72]</b>
September 1992.....	16	65	3	13	3	
April 1992.....	15	63	9	8	5	
						(Co
20.						

	<u>Bill Clinton</u>	<u>George Bush</u>	<u>Neither Of Them</u>	<u>Both Of Them</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
<b>(FORM A) Being someone who will work for change</b>						<b>[73]</b>

September 1992.....	61	18	5	13	3	
September 5, 1992--NBC .....	57	21	9	9	4	
<b>(FORM A)</b>						<b>[74]</b>
<b>Dealing with the problem of health care</b>						
September 1992.....	53	19	9	13	6	
April 1992.....	35	21	21	17	6	
<b>(FORM A)</b>						<b>[75]</b>
<b>Reducing the federal deficit</b>						
September 1992.....	33	25	22	14	6	
April 1992.....	24	21	36	12	7	
<b>(FORM B)</b>						<b>[76]</b>
<b>Protecting the environment</b>						
September 1992.....	49	19	10	17	5	
<b>(FORM B)</b>						<b>[77]</b>
<b>Dealing with the issue of abortion</b>						
September 1992.....	40	26	13	12	9	
April 1992.....	29	25	21	9	16	
<b>(FORM B)</b>						<b>[78]</b>
<b>Dealing with gay rights</b>						
September 1992.....	40	19	13	13	15	
<b>(FORM B)</b>						<b>[79]</b>
<b>Protecting America's interest on trade issues</b>						
September 1992.....	32	42	6	14	6	
<b>(FORM B)</b>						<b>[80]</b>
<b>Having good ideas for the future</b>						
September 1992.....	52	22	7	16	3	
August 1992.....	54	18	12	11	5	
<b>(FORM B)</b>						<b>[81]</b>
<b>Dealing with education</b>						
September 1992.....	50	25	5	16	4	
August 1992.....	53	18	8	13	8	
<b>(FORM B)</b>						<b>[82]</b>
<b>Promoting equal rights for women</b>						
September 1992.....	53	15	6	21	5	

**(FORM A)**

21a. Regardless of how you will vote, when you just consider (**READ ITEM**) would you say you feel satisfied or do you have major doubts about having him as president?

**(FOR EACH ITEM, ASK:)** When you just consider (**READ ITEM**) would you say you feel satisfied or do you have major doubts about having him as president? **(REPEAT FOR EACH ITEM. ROTATE ORDER.)**

	<u>Satisfie d</u>	<u>Major Doubt</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>
<b>George Bush's goals for what he would do in a second term</b>			[83] ]
September 1992.....	36	60	4
July 1992.....	33	61	6
<b>Bill and Hillary Clinton's views on family values</b>			[84] ]
September 1992.....	55	37	8
<b>George Bush's explanation for agreeing to raise taxes in 1990</b>			[85] ]
September 1992.....	32	62	6
July 1992.....	30	65	5
<b>Bill Clinton's character and personal values</b>			[86] ]
September 1992.....	51	44	5
July 1992.....	42	51	7
<b>George Bush's explanation of what programs he would cut to balance the budget</b>			[87] ]
September 1992.....	28	60	12
<b>Bill Clinton's explanation for why he did not serve in the Vietnam War</b>			[88] ]
September 1992.....	46	46	8
July 1992.....	49	41	10
<b>George Bush's character and personal values</b>			[89] ]
September 1992.....	72	25	3
July 1992.....	69	28	3
<b>Bill Clinton's position on taxes</b>			[90] ]
September 1992.....	44	44	12
<b>George Bush's explanation of his role in the Iran-contra affair</b>			[91] ]
September 1992.....	34	58	8

**(FORM B)**

21b. During political campaigns, candidates are often accused of not having important qualities. For each quality I read, please tell me whether you are satisfied with both of the presidential candidates on that quality or not.

**(FOR EACH ITEM, ASK:)** When it comes to **(READ ITEM)** are you satisfied with both presidential candidates on that quality, or are you dissatisfied with one or both of them?

**(IF EITHER CANDIDATE IS UNSATISFACTORY, ASK:)** Which candidate are you dissatisfied with on **(READ ITEM)**--George Bush, Bill Clinton, or are you dissatisfied with both candidates on that quality? **(START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	Satisfied <u>With Both</u>	Dissatisfie d <u>With</u> <u>Bush</u>	Dissatisfied <u>With Clinton</u>	Dissatisfie d <u>With</u> <u>Both</u>	Not <u>Sure</u>	
Being patriotic.....	70	6	18	4	2	<b>[92]</b>
Having a vision for America.....	44	29	13	11	3	<b>[93]</b>
Being tolerant of all groups in society.....	40	34	10	10	6	<b>[94]</b>
Giving straight answers to difficult questions.....	17	27	19	34	3	<b>[95]</b>
Telling the truth about his opponent's record.....	22	17	12	41	8	<b>[96]</b>
Having good moral character.....	47	8	30	11	4	<b>[97]</b>
Sticking to his principles.....	33	24	22	14	7	<b>[98]</b>
Understanding foreign policy.....	31	12	43	5	9	<b>[99]</b>
Promoting family values.....	44	18	25	8	5	<b>[100]</b>
						<b>1</b>

**(BOTH FORMS)**

22a. Let me read you a number of criticisms some people have made about George Bush as president. Please tell me which one or two of the following would make you most likely to consider not supporting George Bush for reelection as president. **(READ LIST. ACCEPT UP TO TWO RESPONSES. ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	9/92	8/9	
He is tired and has no new ideas for the future.....	10	11	<b>[101]</b>
He does not pay enough attention to domestic problems.....	31	34	>
He broke his pledge of "no new taxes".....	21	18	
He has no plan for economic growth and recovery.....	16	19	
He is likely to appoint a Supreme Court justice who would oppose a woman's right to an abortion.....	22	21	
His policies favor the wealthy over the average person.....	32	27	
All equally (VOL).....	8	13	
None of these (VOL).....	7	6	
Not sure.....	2	3	

22b. Let me read you a number of criticisms some people have made about Bill Clinton. Please tell me which one or two of the following would make you most likely to consider not supporting Bill Clinton for president. **(READ LIST. ACCEPT UP TO TWO RESPONSES. ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	9/9	8/92	
He raised taxes and fees many times and increased spending when he was governor of Arkansas.....	19	20	<b>[102]</b>
His economic recovery plan calls for many billions of dollars in additional government spending and higher taxes.....	27	27	>
He is just as liberal as previous Democratic candidates for president, such as Michael Dukakis and George McGovern.....	8	8	
There are too many unanswered questions about his character regarding the draft and extramarital affairs.....	17	16	
He has no background in international or military affairs and is untested in a crisis.....	40	38	
He tries to avoid taking a position on issues such as reducing the deficit and Desert Storm.....	17	20	
All equally (VOL).....	10	8	
None of these (VOL).....	7	8	
Not sure.....	3	4	

**(FORM B)**

23. I would like to ask you about some recent decisions that George Bush has made, including disaster relief, new programs for job training and farm aid, military sales to Taiwan and Saudi Arabia, and the decision to build or improve several weapons systems that he had previously planned to cancel. **(ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

Some people say these decisions are good policies that will help the economy.

Others say these decisions were made for political reasons, not necessarily because they are good policies.

Although each decision has its own pros and cons, on the whole who do you agree with more--people who say these policies are good and will help the economy, or those who say they were made for political reasons?

Agree that they are good policies that will help the economy.....	30	<b>[103]</b>
Agree that the decisions were made for political reasons.....	61	
Neither/both equally (VOL).....	5	
Not sure.....	4	

**(BOTH FORMS)**

24a. Now, I would like to read you two statements that compare George Bush's views on improving the economy to those of Bill Clinton, and then ask you which comes closest to your own point of view. **(ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

George Bush calls for a cut in the capital gains tax, an across-the-board tax cut, and smaller government with less spending and regulation to help the economy.

Bill Clinton calls for a tax increase on the wealthy, a tax cut for the middle class, and spending more for education, job training, and building transportation and communications systems to help the economy.

Which candidate's economic beliefs come closer to your own view--George Bush or Bill Clinton?

George Bush .....	34	<b>[104]</b>
Bill Clinton .....	60	
Neither/both equally (VOL)....	4	
Not sure.....	2	

24b. If there were a choice on the best way to use \$25 billion of federal funds, which approach would you favor:

A) Reduce the deficit.....	31	<b>[105]</b>
B) A 1% across-the-board tax cut.....	10	
C) Invest in job training, education, and transportation.....	56	
Other (VOL).....	-	
All of these equally, some of each (VOL).....	1	
None of these (VOL).....	-	
Not sure.....	2	

**(FORM A)**

24c. Recently, George Bush vowed that if he is reelected he will never raise taxes again. Do you believe that if he is reelected that he will keep this pledge or not?

Yes, he will keep pledge.....	2	<b>[106]</b>
	2	
No, he will not keep pledge.....	7	
	3	
Not sure.....	5	

**(FORM B)**

25. Congress has passed a law that would require companies to give employees up to three months of unpaid leave for the birth or adoption of a child, or to care for a seriously ill family member, while protecting their job. Would you favor or oppose this law, even if it means additional costs for business?

	9/9	7/90	5/90	
Favor the law.....	2	*	*	
Oppose the law .....	63	71	69	[107]
Not sure.....	31	24	26	
	6	5	5	

**(BOTH FORMS)**

26a. The next justice appointed to the Supreme Court is likely to be the deciding vote on whether to overturn *Roe v. Wade*, which would allow states to make abortion illegal. Should the next justice be someone who favors letting states make abortion illegal, opposes it, or is the issue not an important consideration when the next justice is chosen?

Support allowing states to make abortion illegal..	23	[108]
		1
Support preventing states from making abortion illegal.....	46	
Not an important consideration.....	24	
Not sure.....	7	

26b. Do you believe that George Bush sincerely opposes legalized abortion, or do you believe that he is taking that position primarily for political reasons?

Bush sincerely opposes legalized abortion.....	4	[109]
	1	
Bush is taking that stand for political reasons.....	5	
	0	
Not sure.....	9	

27a. It has now been one year since the congressional hearings on the dispute between Anita Hill and Clarence Thomas. In general, who do you think was telling the truth about Anita Hill's charges of sexual harassment by Clarence Thomas--Anita Hill or Clarence Thomas? **(ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE. ROTATE ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	9/92	10/91*	
Anita Hill.....	44	24	[110]
Clarence Thomas.....	34	40	
Both equally (VOL).....	4	12	
Neither (VOL).....	4	6	
Not sure.....	14	18	

27b. Regardless of whether you believed Anita Hill's charges against Clarence Thomas, do you feel that she was treated properly and respectfully by the Senate Judiciary Committee, which conducted the hearings, or do you feel that she was not treated properly and respectfully?

Anita Hill was treated properly and respectfully.....	43	[111]
		1
Anita Hill was not treated properly and respectfully.....	47	
Not sure.....	10	

**(FORM A)**

28a. The Bush Administration has negotiated a North American Free Trade Agreement with Mexico to eliminate nearly all restrictions on imports, exports, and business investment between the United States and Mexico. Do you favor or oppose this trade agreement with Mexico? If you feel you have not heard enough about this issue yet to have an opinion, please just say so.

Favor NAFTA.....	2	[112]
	7	
Oppose NAFTA.....	3	
	4	
Not heard enough yet.....	3	
	5	
Not sure.....	4	

**(FORM A)**

28b. From what you have heard, do you think this proposed trade agreement between the U.S. and Mexico will result in more jobs for Americans, fewer jobs for Americans, or won't it make much difference?

More jobs.....	1	<b>[113]</b>
	6	
Fewer jobs.....	4	
	2	
Not make much difference.....	2	
	7	
Don't know enough yet (VOL).....	1	
	0	
Not sure.....	5	

**(BOTH FORMS)**

28c. Many people feel that we have to choose between protecting our environment and ensuring economic growth. In cases in which this choice cannot be avoided, which do you think should be given higher priority--protecting the environment or ensuring economic growth?

Protecting the environment.....	5	<b>[114]</b>
	2	
Ensuring economic growth.....	3	
	6	
No need to choose; both are possible (VOL).....	2	
Both equally important (VOL).....	6	
Not sure.....	4	

**(FORM B)**

29. George Bush and Bill Clinton both say they are like Harry Truman. Which one do you think is more like Harry Truman--George Bush or Bill Clinton?

George Bush .....	22	<b>[115]</b>
Bill Clinton .....	25	
Neither (VOL).....	35	
Not familiar with Harry Truman (VOL).....	6	
Not sure.....	12	

**FACTUALS: Now I am going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.**

F1. Did you happen to vote in the 1988 presidential election?

**(IF "YES," ASK:)** For whom did you vote--George Bush, the Republican, or Michael Dukakis, the Democrat?

Didn't vote.....	1	<b>[116]</b>
	1	
Voted for George Bush.....	5	
	3	
Voted for Michael Dukakis.....	2	
	9	
Other candidate (VOL).....	1	
Too young (VOL).....	3	
Not sure/refused.....	3	

F2. In politics today, do you generally consider yourself to be very liberal, somewhat liberal, moderate, somewhat conservative, very conservative, or haven't you thought much about it?

Very liberal.....	6	<b>[117]</b>
Somewhat liberal.....	1	
	8	
Moderate.....	2	
	6	
Somewhat conservative.....	2	

	5
Very conservative.....	9
No thoughts.....	1
	5
Not sure.....	1

F3. And generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or something else?

**(IF "DEMOCRAT" OR "REPUBLICAN," ASK:)** Would you call yourself a strong Democrat/Republican or a not very strong Democrat/Republican? **(IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "NOT STRONG DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN.")**

**(IF "INDEPENDENT," ASK:)** Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party, closer to the Democratic Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly Independent? **(IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "STRICTLY INDEPENDENT.")**

Strong Democrat.....	1	<b>[118]</b>
	8	
Not strong Democrat.....	1	
	7	
Independent/lean Democrat.....	1	
	0	
Strictly Independent.....	1	
	5	
Independent/lean Republican.....	1	
	0	
Not strong Republican.....	1	
	3	
Strong Republican.....	1	
	3	
Other.....	3	
Refused.....	-	
Don't know/nothing.....	1	

F4. What is the last grade you completed in school? **(DO NOT READ CHOICES.)**

Grade school.....	1	<b>[119]</b>
Some high school.....	8	
High school graduate.....	3	
	0	
Some college, no degree.....	1	
	7	
Vocational training, 2-year college graduate.	1	
	0	
4-year college graduate.....	2	
	1	
Some postgraduate work, no degree.....	3	
Postgraduate work, Master's degree.....	8	
Doctoral/law degree.....	2	
Not sure.....	-	

F5. How old are you? (IF REFUSED, ASK:) Well, can you tell me which age group you belong to? Are you in the age group 18 to 24, 25 to 29, 30 to 34, 35 to 39, 40 to 44, 45 to 49, 50 to 54, 55 to 59, 60 to 64, or 65 and over?

18-24.....	8	<b>[120]</b>
25-29.....	9	
30-34.....	1	
	3	
35-39.....	1	
	2	
40-44.....	1	
	0	
45-49.....	9	
50-54.....	7	
55-59.....	7	
60-64.....	6	
65 and over.....	1	
	9	
Not sure/refused.....	-	

F6a. What type of work do you do?

	2	[121]
Professional/manager.....	3	
White collar worker.....	2	
	4	
Blue collar worker.....	2	
	0	
Farmer.....	-	
Student.....	3	
Homemaker.....	7	
Retired.....	2	
	1	
Unemployed.....	2	
Never worked/not sure.....	-	

**(ASK OF ALL WOMEN)**

F6b. Do you work outside the home or not?

Work outside the home.....	2	[122]
	9	
Do not work outside the home.....	2	
	3	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

**(ASK EVERYONE)**

F6c. Are you, or is any member of your household, a member of a labor union?

Labor union member.....	1	[123]
	1	
Labor union household.....	7	
Non-union household.....	8	
	2	
Not sure.....	-	

F7. In what religion were you brought up?

Protestant.....	5	[124]
	5	
Catholic.....	3	
	0	
Jewish.....	3	
Other.....	9	
None.....	3	
Not sure/refused.....	-	

F8a. While we are all Americans, our ancestors come from different ethnic groups and countries. From what ethnic group or nationality do most of your ancestors come? **(ACCEPT UP TO TWO RESPONSES.)**

English/Scottish.....	2	[125]	Slavic (Russian/Polish, etc.).....	7	[126]
	5				1
Irish.....	2		German.....	2	
	1				4
Italian.....	6		Scandinavian.....	5	
Portuguese.....	1		African.....	1	
	4			0	
French-Canadian.....			Asian (Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Indian, etc.).....	1	
American Indian/Native American.....	5		Other.....	1	
				0	
			Not sure/refused.....	6	

F8b. Are you white, black, Hispanic, Asian, or something else?

Black.....	11
Hispanic.....	4
Asian.....	1
Other.....	1
Not sure/refused.....	-

F9. If you added together the yearly income of all the members of your family who were living at home last year, would the total be less than \$10,000, between \$10,000 and \$20,000, between \$20,000 and \$30,000, between \$30,000 and \$40,000, between \$40,000 and \$50,000, between \$50,000 and \$75,000, or would the total be more than that?

Less than \$10,000.....	6	<b>[128]</b>
Between \$10,000 and \$20,000.....	1	
	6	
Between \$20,000 and \$30,000.....	1	
	8	
Between \$30,000 and \$40,000.....	1	
	8	
Between \$40,000 and \$50,000.....	1	
	3	
Between \$50,000 and \$75,000.....	1	
	4	
More than \$75,000.....	1	
	1	
Not sure/refused.....	4	